1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 crop of poor tobacco without the application of manure. Commercial
244 fertilizers are beyond the means of all but a very small minority of
237 cultivators. Those large growers who have experimented with commercial fertilizers report unfavorable results, presumably because of excessive leaching in the porous soils.

249 (3) The system of seed selection is illustrative of the general crudity of cultivation. As indicated above, the seeds are taken from the old and repeatedly harvested plants of the preceding season. The only criterion for selection is survival--the seed plant continued to produce longer than the rest of the crop. This does not mean that it produced more leaf or better quality--indeed, the opposite is often
[654] the case. Occasionally better seeds are available from the federal or
[242] state government, but the cultivators take little interest.

(4) The practice of harvesting the entire stalk or shoot at one time increases the variation in quality, since there are appreciable differences in the stages of development of the leaves. Immature leaves do not cure properly, while overripe leaves will produce only inferior grades.

249 (5) The primitive methods of drying and fermenting further re-
276 duce the quality of the leaf. Where the leaves are dried indoors over the fire, they acquire a smoky character. Frequently the debts of the
[424] cultivator force him to sell part of his crop prematurely so that a bulk large enough for fermentation is not assembled. On the other hand, if a large bulk of leaf is accumulated for curing and fermentation, there is always the risk of scorching, since thermometers are never used to check the temperature. A common abuse, and a costly one to the cultivator, results from delay in stringing the leaf up to dry. If the freshly cut leaves are allowed to remain piled in the sun before hanging, the green color is fixed. This damage cannot be

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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*249 time and remained high until the 1888 decree which ended slavery completely. Before this time there had already been a great deal of manumission.

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571 In fact, it is distinctive of the entire region that the relations between the whites and the slaves were relatively warm and intimate. Gilberto Freyre describes the intimacy between the moleque (little Negro boy) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestics, between the Negro nursemaid and her white charges, between Negroes and whites in other close relationships on these plantations. A good deal of race mixture occurred. It is still a joke in this region to say that a particular plantation owner "populated the area."

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[654] The crises through which the sugar industry passed during its four-hundred-year history are interesting and worthy of consideration. During the first fifty years of production (until early in the seventeenth century), the sugar industry prospered and expanded. It was a "period of formation, official protection, and government stimulation, during which the liberties of production, transportation, prices and commerce suffered little or no restrictions."[1] The seventeenth

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648 century, however, was full of crises, one of the greatest being the war with Holland. In 1624 the Dutch attempted to capture Bahia but were repulsed. However, they sailed along the shores of the Bay of All Saints, burning and sacking plantations and setting fire to the cane fields. In the north the Dutch succeeded in capturing Pernambuco, which they retained for twenty-four years, also engaging in the production of sugar. In 1644 the Dutch governor, Maurice of Nassau, was recalled to Holland, and the colony was left undirected. The Brazilians revolted and recaptured Pernambuco.

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[731] In 1666 there was an epidemic of smallpox in the Recôncavo which reduced the slave population and left many plantation owners without laborers. There followed a period of near-famine for some years, due to the lack of food-plant cultivation. While this situation continued, plantation masters

•[426] frequently mortgaged their plantations in order to buy new
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1. J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1552-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 193. The following three paragraphs are a condensation of the material contained in pp. 193-220 (author's translation).

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slaves and equipment. Thus began a long series of mortgages which continued for several centuries. The commercial agents in the city, for the most part representatives of Portuguese companies, loaned money to the plantation owners, using the next crop as collateral. They also charged high interest rates. When the next crop did not materialize, nor the next, the plantation owners found themselves inextricably in debt. At the same time the sugar market in Portugal was lost because the sugar was arriving there in a spoiled condition due to poor transportation, a cargo at times taking two years to arrive at its destination. Furthermore, the prices of most necessities were rising, and, in addition, Portugal began to tax the colonists heavily.

In the early 1700's there was a more prosperous phase, due to higher prices for sugar in Europe. Many plantations were reconstructed, enlarged, and modified, and new ones were built. As a result many people went into debt again. During the eighteenth century two major factors turned against the prosperity of the sugar-cane growers: competition in the European market with the French, Spanish, and British, who were now producing sugar on their Caribbean islands; and the discovery of gold in the western part of Brazil. Sugar could be shipped to Europe more rapidly from the Caribbean than from Brazil. It was subject to less spoilage, and there was also probably less governmental interference. As soon as the European market was flooded with sugar, the price fell.

The discovery of gold in Minas Gerais further dislocated the sugar industry of the Recôncavo at the time when it could least afford it. The prices of slaves, metals, cloth, cattle, horses, and all the necessities of life increased. Many of the freemen who worked in the plantations in administrative capacities were enticed away to the mines by the promise of great wealth. The need for slaves at the mines was great, and traders who sold slaves preferred to sell them to the miners, who could pay cash, rather than to the plantation owners, who frequently paid in sugar. During this time there was also a serious shortage of foodstuffs, for many of the smaller farmers who normally raised food crops emigrated to Minas Gerais.

The agriculturalists--those who planted tobacco as well as those who planted sugar--were still being pressed by high taxes. There are many letters and documents from the governing bodies of the colony, addressed to the Portuguese king, telling him of the deplorable situation in which sugar planters

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2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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As a result, owners have to be satisfied with higher costs than they feel necessary and less profit than they think possible, the difference going to the overseer, rather than accept the complete failure of the plantation. Overseers, foremen, and owners are all aware of the situation, but politeness, the traditional respect patterns, and the unwillingness to compete openly keep the situation covert.

Nevertheless, on Fazenda das Moças, in spite of these difficulties there is considerable cooperation between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo. The duties of the overseer are confined generally to the plantation itself--seeing that the work is done, the cane planted, cultivated, harvested, and delivered to the factory as expediently as possible. The duties of Dona Sinhá are mainly concerned with finance, with arranging ready funds to meet the current expenses of the plantation. The practice of mortgaging crops did not end with the abolition of slavery, and it is the owner's task to juggle funds, loans, and interest so she will have enough money to improve and increase the yield of her plantation. In general the owners of single plantations rarely have enough funds to carry them through the year. Payrolls are met throughout the year with advances on the estimated harvest made by the factory, by the banks, or by the Cooperative of Sugar-Cane Growers and Suppliers. Thus when the season ends the owner is already in debt, part of which he must pay off in order to finance the coming year. There are two problems constantly present in the struggle to increase the size of the harvest: cost of production, and the antiquated methods used on the private plantations, where practically all work is done by hand.

Table 1 shows production, costs, and profits for the harvests of the years 1947-48, 1948-49, and 1949-50 at Fazenda das Moças. The drop in production and the rise in costs in the years 1948-49 were attributed to a slackening of the vigilance of Dona Sinhá and to a poor overseer. It was at the end of this year that Seu Paulo assumed the position of overseer of the plantation. The following year showed a great improvement which has continued. For the 1950-51 harvest produced 6,000 tons, the highest output of any private plantation in the Recôncavo. Future harvests are expected to go well above this. In addition to changing the overseer, and in the following year the foreman, Dona Sinhá was able to borrow enough money to purchase the tractor mentioned earlier. The next year, as a result of the evident success of the new combination, two four-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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TABLE 1
PRODUCTION, COSTS, PROFITS: FAZENDA DAS MOÇAS

1947-1948	
4,000 tons of cane at the selling price of Cr$81,40 a ton	Cr$325.600,00
Cost of production	206.244,00
Profit	119.356,00
1948-1949	
2,500 tons of cane at Cr$88,90	222.250,00
Cost of production	225.198,00
Loss	32.948,00
1949-1950	
5,000 tons of cane at Cr$107,40	537.000,00
Cost of production	319.248,00
Profit	217.751,00

[407] [493] wheeled carts were added which could be drawn by the tractor, thus cutting down transportation costs. Recently a jeep was acquired to pull the carts, and a second tractor equipped with the mechanism to cultivate cane fields was purchased.

*249 43 178 •[426] Still, the plantation is heavily in debt, and any profits are immediately used for improvements or for paying off debts. Moreover, the cost of tractors, jeeps, and fertilizer is very high since they are imported products. Because of the dollar exchange rate their cost is extravagantly high in Brazil, compared with the United States. In addition, the plantation is still burdened with the old equipment and the necessity of pasture for the oxen, which cuts down the acreage available for planting. [492] Animal traction cannot yet be entirely dispensed with, because of the condition of the soil in winter. The problem of *249 178 maintaining the old system of work as well as introducing the new, which can only slowly pay for itself, is considerable. Dona Sinhá is faced with the dilemma of difficult natural conditions which, while good in many ways for sugar cane, impede *249 178 466 the application of modern techniques. She is also faced with personnel problems in relation to the overseer. One solution is clearly apparent and has been adopted by Dona Sinhá: to spend more and more time on the plantation, sharing more and more work with Seu Paulo. This of course is a complete break with the past traditions of the plantation master. It is a difficult break for both parties concerned. Dona Sinhá misses her city

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[Town Life]

who walks about with a huge round basket on his head crying, "Pão, pão."

Dona Carmen's husband, Damião, is also a storekeeper. His store is in the downhill part of town, near the fishermen. The two stores are run separately, and the couple are doing well financially. In addition to his store, Damião also owns several canoes and fish nets which he rents to fishermen. He is the only storekeeper in town who gives credit to people who cannot pay immediately, allowing bills to run many months and even more than a year. He also allows his customers to borrow money in order to buy things outside his store--for instance fish, which he does not handle. He does not charge interest on these loans, nor seemingly make any demands on those who borrow. On the other hand the borrowers feel a sort of loyalty toward him and do not forget their debts, which they eventually manage to pay.

Three of the smallest stores are owned and operated by women, whose husbands have set them up in business in a small way in order, as one put it, to "give my wife something to do." It is considered desirable for a woman to operate a store and it is usually the beginning of something larger, for later, whenever possible, the husband will stop his own work and help operate the store. In the case of the smaller stores the owner generally lives in the same building, either alongside the store or behind it. The larger storekeepers, however, usually have separate houses. At night they lock up the stores, which are sometimes guarded by dogs or even by the cashiers who sleep there. The storekeepers are usually asked for donations to the church at the time of any special festivals, and generally become politically active after they become established in business.

The stock in most of the stores is pretty much the same, varying in amount rather than diversity: drinks (rum and soft drinks), dried meat (the staple meat of the population), cereals, cigars, cigarettes, estivas (which include beans, rice, and farina, the three great staples of the local diet), as well as coffee, palm oil (azeite de dendê), vinegar, olive oil, garlic, onions, wooden sandals, condensed and powdered milk, salt, sugar, miudezas (small items such as matches and ribbons), toilet articles and laundry soaps, blueing agents and starch, grass mats, kerosene, and in one store aluminum kitchenware which is not sold very often, as well as nails, wire, screws, and wrapping paper and cord. One store in the

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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them odd stories which were calculated to strike their imagination."[58]

Public opinion expected of masters the acceptance of an offer made to manumit an infant on the occasion of his baptism.[59] It also became customary, when marriages were being solemnized in the master's family, to free one or two favorite slaves.[60] Masters frequently declined the money proffered by a Negro for his purchase and granted his freedom without payment.[61] Slaves of the religious orders, it is said, considered themselves to belong to the saints themselves and were never sold.[62] The law adopted in 1809 to protect the property of sugar planters against attachment for debt also provided that slaves need not be sold separately from an estate to satisfy a creditor's claims. Thus the master could not be forced to dispose of his slaves, unless the debt amounted to the value of the entire estate; and, as Koster has pointed out,[63] the slave in this way was advanced, in some degree at least, toward the condition of a serf.

[58] *Ibid.*

[59] "Another custom which was advantageous to the slave was that of *alforrias na pia*, which was accomplished with the insignificant amount of 5 to 50 milreis and never was refused; this custom became very common, especially when the child had a light skin" (Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255). Koster gives the price in Pernambuco early in the nineteenth century as £5 and says that "in this manner, a considerable number of persons are set at liberty; for the smallness of the price enables many freemen who have had connections with female slaves to manumit their offspring; and instances occur of the sponsors performing this .... act. Not infrequently female slaves apply to persons of consideration to become sponsors to their children, in the hope that the pride of these will be too great to allow of their godchildren remaining in slavery" (*op. cit.*, I, 195–96).

[60] Frank Bennett, *Forty Years in Brazil* (London, 1914), p. 111.

[61] Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 256. [62] *Ibid.* [63] *Op. cit.*, I, 239 n.